

# Immigration Is Vexation—But the Fault Is Not All the Aliens

## Paul and Felix Warburg Comment on the Latest Study of Aliens

IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE. By Frances Kellor. George H. Doran Company.

Review-Interview By FANNIE FERBSTEIN

PAUL WARBURG, former vice-governor of the Federal Reserve Board, in an interview with Miss Kellor's book, agreed fully with the author's conclusions that the "immigrant is worth while to America, so much so that this country can no longer afford to be indifferent to the immigration question."

"The strongest and best material of Europe comes here," said Mr. Warburg, "for it takes a strong heart and an ambitious character to tear himself up by the roots, leave home, family, friends, and travel, usually 'middle class,' to a new life in a new land, where the language is a barrier and the people are indifferent strangers. Men who dare privations like this have something to give America. If we let them give us what they have, they will not erect race and religious barriers to preserve their entity."

"I object strongly to any barriers; not that I want a colorless melting of the races, but surely it isn't necessary for, say, the Hungarians to wear their colorful costumes or dance their cardas on the streets, nor for the Italians to eat only spaghetti, to remain true to themselves. Look at the splendid qualities the Scandinavian and Norwegian farmers of the Northwest have developed, and the steadiness and thriftiness of the Germans throughout Pennsylvania. Who are the immigrants after all? Is not America an immigrant country, so to speak, for though the English claim to be the original settlers, the Dutch were here ahead of them, and the Danes even

Kellor's assertion that "to the mind of the average American the query, 'Are you for or against immigration?' is equivalent to, 'Are you for or against organized labor?'"

"Organized labor opposes immigration because it fears the competition of cheap labor," continued Mr. Warburg, "but it refuses to admit that American labor cannot or will not do all kinds of work. For instance, American girls won't be nurses, because it is too hard work and the American girl wants to work only a little while, then marry a rich man. We have to import nurses from Canada. And housework? Out of the question for a native. And we have seen that Americans won't dig ditches. So evidently the immigrant has to do it. But right here let me add for the benefit of organized labor, that unless, as Miss Kellor clearly states, 'immigration is a paying investment to the immigrant, to business and to America, all other attempts to deal with it will fail.'"

"I consider Miss Kellor a leader of men to-day, in that she has grasped this subject as an expert," said Mr. Warburg, "and offers a constructive policy that will satisfy both idealists and the most practical realists." Her suggestion that Congress appoint commissions to study the various open questions, such as: Shall America be an asylum for the foreign born? Shall aliens be registered? What is to be the status abroad of naturalized citizens? Shall the basis of assimilation be Anglo-Saxon? and to present these to the public for discussion and voting, is the only democratic and fair solution of the issue which has become so vital to our economic development. For I honestly believe we need the immigrant quite as much as he needs us."

### Aliens Too Often Learn Here

That Our Laws May Be Evaded.

"And certainly I do not believe in registering aliens. If you chalk them off like that you not only discourage them from attempting to become citizens but you drive them into clandestine and dirty tenements, which we seem to think good enough for the foreigner. Aliens don't need to be watched by the law. They are the most law-abiding people we have here. They come from countries where the law is feared. Here they are surprised at the mock serious consideration given all laws. For instance, an alien is warned by the tenement owner not to leave his garbage can on the fire escape. Religiously he observes this rule, and when his naturalized countryman drops in for a visit and sees the garbage can on the window sill or some other convenient place he says: 'Why don't you keep that on the fire escape?' 'Oh, but the owner forbids it,' gasps the alien. 'Bah,' smiles the 'American citizen,' 'give him a dollar and you can keep it anywhere you please.'"

"And that is one of our main troubles. Not a single law is ever enforced. We corrupt the foreigners ourselves, especially in politics. Now if we really need these aliens, and I believe we do, why don't we incline them toward instead of against us? It would be much fairer, too, to have a national rather than a State citizenship policy; then there would be less danger of discrimination fostering race feuds and hatreds."

"The immigrant at Ellis Island should be met by Department of Education representatives, either through the



Paul and Felix Warburg.

schools or the various 'Y's' and immediately made to feel that he is an important part of the country to which he has brought everything he has in the world. He should see that we do care whether he lives in a dirty hut or a decent home. What happens to-day? An Armenian comes over; is greeted by Armenian church workers; is taken to live in the Armenian district; goes to the Armenian church; reads Armenian papers; hears only the Armenian language, for he buys in Armenian shops around him; he is married by Armenian priests and buried by them. Has he any way of becoming an American citizen?"

"So with the alien of all the races that come here. Why don't we try to make the rest of America as attractive to him as New York is at first, simply because he thinks all his relatives are located here? The immigrant ought to be assisted in getting to the open country; factory walls and crowded shops are fatal to his body, used to fields and mountains."

"Instead of letting their padrones exploit and cheat them in their cheap, shoddy stores and banks, why do not our department stores open branches in the foreign districts and give the East Side as honorable a deal as Fifth avenue? The banks have been slower in establishing branches in these districts, partly through snobbishness, which is actually funny in democratic America, but through a genuine fear of the alien's temperamental disposition which often leads him to make runs on a bank, thus destroying the institution's reputation."

### The Post Office Department

Might Do More to Aid Aliens.

"But why must you and I see on Fifth avenue, since the war especially, the opening of Swedish, Dutch, Polish, Russian and all sorts of foreign banks, controlled by their various governments, drawing the alien's savings back to the home country, simply because we aren't interested enough to keep them here or think there isn't enough money in it? Why does not the Post Office Department open foreign exchange stations, with responsible naturalized citizens in charge, explaining to aliens: 'Come to us with your money orders and registered letters; we take care of the American's mail and are obligated for every penny of it. You can trust us, too.'"

"As for assimilation of foreigners on an Anglo-Saxon basis—if that means purely American ideals and traditions, yes; but not the English or other type of European domination with its caste and class system. I would hate to see foreign languages shut out, simply from a cultural viewpoint, though I feel that the national and official language should be English. Foreign newspapers ought to print their news both in English and their own language and they ought to place emphasis on American news and progress rather than the Hungarian or Polish or Balkan scandals. All of us ought to be able to read a foreign newspaper to know exactly where we stand."

### The Foreigner Needs More Time

Before Undertaking Citizenship.

"As to status abroad of naturalized citizens, another of Miss Kellor's open questions, I think we need to consider this very seriously with foreign governments, because we ought not to be willing to allow American citizenship to be sneezed at in Germany or any other country. We do not want European countries to force naturalized Americans into military service when they return to their native lands."

"Our American Consuls abroad ought to be carefully chosen men of good judgment, but I don't favor giving them unlimited powers of passports. Money can buy a passport to-day; certainly that is corruption. Out of the thousands of immigrants probably lined up for months at the Consul's office in Poland, for instance, why should Smith be given a visa instead of Cohen simply because Smith can pay more for his papers?"

"And certainly I do not believe in ramming citizenship down the American's throat. He ought to have every possible chance first to see the benefits to himself of citizenship; then if he decides to take out his first papers he should have a sufficiently long enough time in every State—not just a few weeks as in some—to become thoroughly saturated with American ideas and ideals to know definitely that he wants to assume the responsibilities of being an American."

"Their hot, passionate natures will be cooled by contact with Anglo-Saxon reserve and repose; they are the best little imitators in the world, given the chance. Our aim ought to be to make them love us, and not to Americanize them. If they love us, the latter will not be necessary. Anything forced is unpalatable, even to oppressed Europeans and Asiatics, and they resent swallowing Americanism even more than other 'isms' because they have looked upon us as in the one land where freedom is absolute and not relative. So that I believe that the entire responsibility of the immigrant problem rests with the schools."

### All Italians Are Not Bandits;

They Need More Friendliness.

"Miss Kellor is the most courageous woman in America, to have written a book like that," he said, pausing in his work at the half finished bank building on Bayard street where he is about to open a foreign exchange accommodation for immigrants."

"She tells the good and bad points of the immigrants and the same of the Americans at the risk of offending American capitalists. There isn't a more beloved woman in the world than Miss Kellor, who sees that all Italians are not murderers and bandits, any more than all Americans are lynchings; who realizes the homesickness of the immigrant and his longing for the familiar; who is not afraid to tell him that often he does not try to become a good American. Well, how can he become a good American when nobody shows him what that is?"

"He comes to Ellis Island and sees the dirt and crowd and has no decent place to stay; pretty soon his money is taken by the porters, expressmen and everybody who can get hold of him; if he has any left somebody sells him a farm under water, or he is hustled into a factory, and, working without the sun and air to which he is accustomed in Italy, he loses his health and soon is not a good workman. He gets laid off, maybe, or sick, and then troubles begin. In Italy he sings at his work as he dances through the sun and wind, and his mouth is always drawn down, and he worries. Why does he come here, you ask? For the same reason that you and I came—to ameliorate his condition."

## The Immigrants' Own Point of View Is Frankly Presented by a Naturalized American Lawyer

tussle with the English language and to learn American ways, but presently I found a love for the country growing in my heart, because I saw, underneath, how fine the ideals of the Constitution were, and I gradually got my whole family over here. Now we are all American citizens. Of course, I love Italy, and at Christmas and Easter I get an ache for the Neapolitan celebrations and the snug friendliness of the little Italian villages which one misses in this big New York, but that is natural and does not mean that I would not be loyal to America."

"You Americans force us to become citizens; otherwise we are neither respected nor protected here. I am always preaching to my countrymen to become citizens, but you are doing this thing in the wrong way. Now, in Rome, we have about 10,000 Americans; we do not dare try to force them to become Italian citizens. Why? Because they are rich. Ah, if we came over here rich, we would be treated differently, too."

### The Immigrant Should Be Led To Go Out to Western Farms.

"The American Government ought to take a guiding hand in the immigration policy. Not one single thing has ever been done for the immigrant by the American Government except admitting him to citizenship. Night schools, you say? Purely local affairs. Settlement workers? Again local. Jobs? Certainly the Government never bothers about providing jobs for the strangers within its gates."

"The American Government would gain much prestige abroad if it began solving this problem right in Europe. Through its Consuls in every country it could give out information in all languages regarding the opportunities for work and education and decent living in America; it could even suggest vocations for the oppressed and unhappy of Europe."

Then, when the immigrant lands at Ellis Island, the Government should have stationed there responsible experts in the agricultural, industrial and professional fields, to study the newcomers and guide them to the most suitable goal."

"No, the Government should not own and operate farms to which it should send its immigrants, but it should encourage private capital to develop those wonderful lands in the West. And its reliable experts should be on hand to inform the immigrant about the possibilities of Iowa or Idaho or whatever land is most desirable, thus deflecting the crowds from congesting New York. America right now is big enough and rich enough to house and feed the whole world. What is she doing with her resources? She could force private enterprises to do her bidding during the war; why not try to direct it humanely and generously in peace times? Is her duty to humanity over, now that the war is won? It is just begun, and if America remains indifferent to her immigration problem, to her unemployment problem, she will find, as already is the case, the best workers of the world emigrating to Canada, which country offers special inducements to farmers; or to South America, where special concessions are made to European colonizers."

"Do not think I am blaming America altogether. We immigrants do much that is wrong. We print accusations against the American Government in our foreign language papers when you displease us without giving the English translation so that you can defend

yourself. That is very wrong of us; but you do not let us talk in your papers, why should we listen to you in ours? You do not care what we think about any question, surely not politics, for see the way our young Italians are used as 'repeaters' at voting time!"

"And so we think that since all that wins an American's respect is the dollar we must rather many dollars, and then no one can hurt us in this free land. That is wrong of us; and although we all come over only to make more money than in Europe there are so many things to love about this wonderful America that we forget the dollars and want to become American citizens if you will but help us to live decently as Americans and not in dirty huts and shacks such as you think we are used to in Europe. We don't enjoy living like that, though every one will say 'Why, you ought to be glad just to be in America. What did you have in Europe?' That is the very reason we left Europe!"

"Now the other Sunday, New York—notice it was not the American Government but New York city—did a very nice thing. It gave a concert and entertainment for the immigrants at Ellis Island, with songs, speeches and dialogues in foreign languages, even Hindu, to welcome these lonely strangers, hungry for the hand of fellowship. Why is not Ellis Island cleaned up, the buildings enlarged and an ideal of American life introduced

right there at the gates? What sure way of winning the immigrant's affection and loyalty? You get what you give, which is just what Miss Kellor has said in her wonderful book."

In her book Miss Kellor, after graphic illustrations of the failure of American schools, American insurance companies, banks and business in general to understand and appreciate the foreigners and vice versa, concludes with a rare bit of practical idealism:

"When this commercial age has exhausted the treasures to be gained by adventures into the resources of the earth and we have found a way to assure to all men the necessities and comforts of life, then men's minds will turn to quality rather than quantity; to simplicity instead of ostentation; to form rather than toward bulk; to color and line rather than toward size; to continuity and precision rather than toward loose idealism. Perhaps then the best architects will build the shops and homes of the immigrants and native born alike; and the best designers will be reserved for state occasions will find his way into the common things of life. We may have to wait until then for the full assimilation of the immigrant, for it may be that full identity of interests consists less in sharing what money alone will buy than in the mutual appreciation of the spiritual qualities of man."

## Women as Wage-Earners

CAREERS FOR WOMEN. By Catherine Filene. Houghton, Mifflin Company.

Let any young woman who is meditating a career to-day betake herself to the nearest bookseller or library and consult Miss Filene's valuable and authoritative book before she definitely decides upon her "career." After she is well settled in it she will probably wish to have it spoken of as her "job." But while it is still on the horizon it will look like a career to her, and when she has paid due respect to Miss Filene's compilation she will probably be surprised to learn that there are nearly 300 vocations that lie open to her ambitions."

Each field is carefully considered by some woman who has won special distinction therein and who has been chosen to write about it by the Intercollegiate Vocational Guidance Association, of which Miss Filene is director. These many vocations are carefully classified under appropriate headings, such as Business, Education, Literary Work, Politics and many others, and embrace activities as widely varying as Public Accounting, Stock Raisings, Experts in Styles, Detectives, Vocational Advising and Newspaper Work. In the discussion of each are carefully given all kinds of practical information which the seeker of a career could wish to acquire, such as opportunities for advancement, the qualifications desirable for success, advantages and disadvantages, pay, supply and demand, and the preparation necessary to begin. In fact, so widely has the material been acquired and so carefully sifted that the book may stand as a complete compendium for the woman worker to-day in any field of activity of which she may wish to be informed."

It is humanly interesting to see that under the heading of financial returns very many of the workers report

that at present the salaries are quite too low for the amount of preparation and skill invested in them, and it is even more interesting to note that the more closely the careers develop along the lines of women's special abilities and interests the larger the salaries. It is the restaurant manager who gets \$10,000 a year and the style expert who gets \$15,000.

## Militant Women

JAILED FOR FREEDOM. By Doris Stevens. Boni & Liveright.

Martyrs are a most annoying breed of humans. Not all martyrs, of course, have a winning cause, or even a good cause, and seldom do they get a chance to sit down and within a couple of years write a whole book saying "I told you so." Miss Stevens, one of the militant suffragettes who picketed the White House, has leaped at her opportunity with unholly joy. Of course the activities of these picketers and their sufferings did not bring on woman suffrage. They demanded the vote and the vote was given them, which proves conclusively that they had nothing to do with it, or everything, according to how you look at it. But their more immediate object, which was to make the Government frantic, was certainly accomplished, unless this book is an incredibly clever web of forgeries."

The general feeling of the book is not of indignation, but a sort of contemptuous amusement. The ladies set out to tickle the animal's hind leg, so as to prove he was a mule. A strenuous form of sport, but one that seems to have netted them an immense satisfaction. The author appends to her history a group of photographs of the desperate suffragettes, whose ferocity required such heroic treatment by their jailers. Their faces are something of a shock. They look like the commencement crowd at any woman's college, with the old grads and students together. Good heavens, what are we coming to?"

The Japanese language, says Mr. T. Philip Terry, author of "Terry's Guide to the Japanese Empire" (Houghton Mifflin), possesses no swear words, so when a Japanese is rolled he gets icily polite and calls his enemy an honorable donkey or a raw baby. While these euphemisms don't sound very lethal to us, it is said that many have been manhandled for using them."

## Pulverizing Coal Prices

POWDERED COAL AS A FUEL. By C. F. Herington, M. E. D. Van Nostrand Company.

Reviewed by T. COMMERFORD MARTIN

Such a title as the above, discussing how to use coal as a fuel, seems at first glance rather pleonastic, but it may interest the uninitiated to know that powdered coal renders other services than helping to reduce the high cost of living. Not so long ago the best Bell telephone transmitters employed ground up coal in the diaphragm chamber, but perhaps the company has been compelled by its costliness to give it up."

That arch-chemist of the new electro-metallurgical era, Acheson, has, with the aid of coal dust, made baby diamonds, given a new material to the industries and a new word to the vocabularies in "carboreundum"; and more lately has added to the economics of mechanism a marvelous new lubricant in "oidag." Evidently the coal tar is not having it all their own way; the coal dusts are coming into their own as well."

The ideas of the average citizen about powdered fuel have centered around the huge culm piles with which the unesthetic Pennsylvania miner has emulated the overhanging Alleghenies and adorned in lugubrious pyramids the Lehigh and Wyoming valleys. The travelled American seeking warmth abroad has also become acquainted with the curious round Salsbury steaks of combustible that are dropped with misery hand into the doll's house grates of Europe. But, as this most interesting book shows, however, it is not only pays to use up detritus at the pit's mouth or in briquettes, but to comminute the coal before it gets under the boiler in the power plant, or in cement kilns, or in numerous metallurgical processes."

Striking advances and improvements have been made in the creation of what is almost an artificial fuel by means of crushing or triturating the crude coal, and in its utilization inside the furnace. Many illustrations could be given from this country, but excellent examples of saving and enhanced efficiency are afforded also by England and France, while Italy and Japan are also eagerly on the inquirer's bench, with their slender native supplies of fuel."

charged with a broad public interest. This is one of them. The utilities that give us gas, electricity, heat, light and transportation will find it helpful in their efforts to steady rates. The industrialist with war profits cut to the bone will seek to redress the scale at the grate bar. And the dweller in Manhattan will renew hope fast fading that he and the carboniferous age are not going bankrupt together."

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"June ———, 1914 ———, El Miradero

This is going to hurt you, Robert, and I am deeply sorry—but it is inevitable. You see I am writing from the lodge in the Cantabrians. You know that it belongs to the young Marquis de Burgos, but perhaps you don't realize that he is the Don Arturo I sometimes spoke of in my letters. He has loved me a long time. To-night I decided to remain with him because I came to see that if I gave him up and went back to you I would be too unhappy to live."

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## He Went to School to the Laborer

WHAT'S ON THE WORKER'S MIND. By Whiting Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons.

What is America facing? Where will the present labor unrest lead us? What is going to follow the strike? The various answers that have been made to these questions, by far the most important questions now confronting the United States, have been based principally upon theory, upon conjecture. Few, however, have come from anywhere in the vicinity of the ranks of the workers themselves."

The author of this book dropped his position as head of the personnel department of a great corporation, forsook his identity, donned an old suit, put a few dollars in his pocket, and for half a year earned his livelihood as a manual worker in America's greatest coal and iron mines and steel mills. He was a laborer among laborers, so when he went job hunting he met the inevitable rebuff. He was far from home, so he couldn't borrow."

The man was Whiting Williams, personnel director of the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company, and well known as an authority on labor matters. Mr. Williams, who later went to England to undergo the same ordeal there, with the same purpose in view, determined upon this move when the unrest in America developed to the point of constituting a serious menace."

"I knew that the man in the mill was as human as myself," he said, telling of his experience. "I knew that he would talk frankly to a fellow worker, and I knew that this was the only way of really getting close to him."

"Before we lay the blame upon those others or talk about trying some other plan, all of us, whether we happen to think of ourselves as in the group of persons called Capital or Management or Labor or the Public, should arrange to put into this present scheme a larger measure of the two elements which are likely to prove sovereign for these trying times—a cool head and a warm heart."

Throughout the six months Mr. Williams kept a diary, the compiling of which little volume is a story in itself. He made jottings at all hours—8 A. M., just before starting work; midnight, when he was about to "turn in," and during the day when he was out of a job. Here are a few paragraphs:

"Frankton, July 4, 1919. "All things considered, the hardest and worst job to date, and the closest shave yet, also, from being fired from it. And the closest to being laid out by the combination of job, sun and

foreman—and to being brained by the last named. So I'm thankful for being alive and still on deck, though by a narrow margin."

"Stackton, Tuesday, Feb. 4. "Always bricks, bricks, and more bricks—hot, cold and medium—ill back and arms whispered to suggest that we double-cross bricks the rest of our natural lives. After a day or two of bricks had passed I asked somebody, 'What time?' and was informed 'Oh, about nine-thirty.' I never was so surprised and disappointed. But I couldn't stop moving those bricks (I hate to think how I feel about bricks) until finally, at the end of a Philadelphia week, twelve o'clock came and we could eat our lunch out of our bags—a half hour—and then start moving more bricks until 6 A. M."

"Stackton, Wednesday, Feb. 12. "Here's an example in 'physical arithmetic':"

"From Monday evening to Monday evening, on eight turn, a man here works eighty-seven out of the week's 168 hours. Of the remaining eighty-one he sleeps, at seven hours a day, a total of forty-nine; eats not over ten; walks or travels in a street car, say, ten; dresses, shaves, tends furnace, undresses, winds alarm-clock and gets occasional drink, say, eight. What does he think the rest of the time—during all those remaining four hours?"

"Stackton, Feb. 28. "I believe instruction could be given even to the labor gang—I'd like to give a talk on the art of shovelling. It would probably eliminate the foreman, whose only word is an oath. That oath confuses the beginner and hardens the old hand by robbing him of his interest in the fine points of his job and forcing him, for his own self-respect, to take refuge in his, 'Aw, what the hell!'"

"But even as it is the men do take interest in their job. Yesterday two helpers had a knock-down fight—over a shovel! After six men had succeeded in pulling them apart—each with his hands full of the other fellow's clothes—the superintendent got nowhere at all by reminding them that the shovel actually belonged to the company. Each insisted: "My shovel! I use it 'tree monts. My shovel—he take it!" "Millvale, Wednesday night, March 19. "It's queer how little conversation I've run into anywhere about capital and labor, Bolsheviki and such things. There was certainly more of it at the boarding house in Stackton than I've yet found here."



Frances Kellor.

earlier. However, I do not blame the Anglo-Saxons here for desiring their ideals, institutions and traditions to be the basis for assimilation. The Anglo-Saxons are the best colonizers in the world; wherever they have gone they have spread the ideals of liberty and equal opportunity."

"Those who favor restriction of immigration, passage of laws which prohibit aliens from owning land, who discriminate against them in employment and suppress the use of foreign languages, pleading the fear of Bolshevism, are hypocrites, masking behind these pretences their fear of the competition of the immigrant."

"While I do not think it necessary for the Government to control immigration, it does seem highly essential that Congress appoint, as Miss Kellor suggests, committees to dig up all the facts and fallacies cluttering up this question and present the whole case to the American people. It is through ignorance that we have failed to recognize the valuable possibilities of the immigrant; our banks have been a bit slow in welcoming the trade with foreigners; possibly we are snobbish, although in a democratic country that is an inconsistency. I feel that the solution lies in the schools. One can hardly expect to change the prejudices and customs of the parents, but their children can be assimilated in the schools, with the right kind of sympathetic instruction and respect for the immigrants' traditions. The children are only too eager to become Americans; it is our fault if they do not become the right kind."

In the introduction to her book Miss Kellor includes Mr. Warburg and his brother Felix in a long list of distinguished Americans who have aided in constructive work for immigrants. Their views are not those of mere observers from the outside. Felix Warburg, in a personal interview, reinforced his brother's expressed convictions, adding his individual emphasis on certain points. He agrees with Miss

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